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THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Fourth Year of Issue

November, 1944

Post-War Consumption Program

ALBERT ROSE



Socialism in South America

ROBERT ALEXANDER



International Federal Government

P. M. BROWN



United Nations Ltd.
EDITORIAL

Lippmann on U.S. War Crisis
G. M. A. GRUBE

Vol. XXIV, No. 286

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THE CANADIAN FORUM

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O CANADA

I would like to suggest that the name of hamburg steak and hamburgers be changed, due to its similarity with the name of the German city of Hamburg. Since the entire world has become aware of German atrocities, it does not seem proper that we should publicize such a common German name. Due to the heroism and bravery which the people of Stalingrad have shown, and since their fame is known all over the world, I would suggest that hamburgers be changed to stalingrads.

(Letter to the Editor in the Winnipeg Free Press.)

An Eastern Ontario Progressive Conservative Association banquet meeting last night declined an invitation from the chairman to close with the singing of "O Canada" and instead sang "God Save the King."

When the meeting ended, J. Warren York, K.C., the chairman, said it would close with the singing of "O Canada."

"No, the King, the King," several members of the audience cried. They then began singing "God Save the King" and Mr. York joined with them.

(Ottawa Citizen.)

The task is to dissolve government controls over the economy just as rapidly as possible, but no faster.

(Winnipeg Free Press.)

New York, Oct. 12—(CP)—Mrs. Edgar D. Hardy of Ottawa, president of Canada's National Council of Women . . . and Gwethalyn Graham of Toronto and Montreal, author of the new book, "Earth and High Heaven," were guests at a luncheon given by the United States National Council.

Describing the war effort of Canadian women, Mrs. Hardy said: "Our war effort has not lagged but five years has taken it out of us. We are tired and we show it. We never will be the beauties we were before but if in the end we achieve a just peace, it is worth losing our beauty."

(Ottawa Citizen.)

The explanation seems to lie in the enormous economic power of the interests to which Mr. Bouchard has opposed himself. In the present complex of our business life, few men can afford the luxury of complete self-expression on matters which offend the susceptibilities of powerful groups.

(Saturday Night.)

Will radio, which has proved to be the greatest force for evil and for good (fortunately in the above order) be able, along with the rest of mankind, to find its place in the new pattern, the pattern of peace?

(Canadian Broadcaster.)

Dr. McPhedran said the Canadian Medical Association regards as essential to the establishment of a satisfactory national health insurance plan, that health insurance be administered by an independent, non-political commission. The medical profession does not wish to have a majority control of the commission, but will not submit to majority control by any other group.

(Canadian Press Dispatch.)

If successful in a small business, who is going to tell them they must not try to succeed in a bigger one? If a young man enters farming on a moderate scale, who is going to throttle his urge to expand, even on a huge scale?

Undoubtedly there are two classes of people—those who prefer to do for themselves, and those willing to get along on, and take from, the effort of others. We don't believe this country has a very large number of the latter. It is not a quality inherent in sturdy Canadianism. Accordingly, when the test comes between freedom and State socialism with its paternalism and handouts, we do not think many of the young men reared in an atmosphere of independence will be found ready to accept the thought that an ample livelihood can be attained simply by reaching for a theoretical silver platter.

(Globe and Mail.)

Pte. ———, member of the CWAC, marched past 30 other contestants in the beauty contest held at Roseneath Fair Saturday to win the title. She had stiff competition, too, but her outdoor complexion, sparkling beauty plus the trim army uniform won the judges' decision.

(Caption under photograph in Globe and Mail.)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to H. M. Rayner, Ituna, Sask. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication from which taken.

Unfinished Business

Writing about the course of the war in Europe has become even more a matter of guesswork than ever. A short time ago it seemed that nothing would stop the sweep of Eisenhower's men across France and the Low Countries into Germany. A little while before that it seemed as if nothing would stop the sweep of the Russians across the Polish plains into eastern Germany. But the Russians are still stalled before Warsaw; and in the west German resistance along the Westwall, coupled with their stubborn and skillful defense of French harbors, has produced a practical stalemate. Will the allied armies be able to break this before winter sets in? Like all the more expert commentators, we haven't the slightest idea. What do the Germans hope to gain as a result of their battle for time? Time to use their V3 weapon? Time for cleavages to develop between the Anglo-Americans and the Russians? Time to organize an underground which can continue operations after allied armies have entered Berlin? Again we are left to guess.

Roosevelt vs. Dewey

On the whole it looks as if that man will be in the White House for another four years. But the opinion polls show so close a division in the popular vote that the majority which they assign to Roosevelt is not enough to cover their possible errors in measurement. Everything seems to depend on how a few of the bigger states, especially New York, may go. And that depends on how successful the P.A.C. may be in getting out the labor vote for Roosevelt. Presumably the fact that Germany has not yet collapsed and that the war in Europe is still going on will help the President. The Americans will not like to swap horses while they are crossing the Rhine.

To a listener and reader in Canada the Dewey campaign has not sounded or looked very effective. The Dewey speeches have been colorless, and his professed policy on social reform at home and on world organization abroad has been almost indistinguishable from that of the party in office. But the Republicans are relying on two main appeals—apart, of course, from their obvious case against keeping one man in an office like the American presidency for sixteen years. Both of these appeals are pretty low, but they are both being indulged in steadily by every Republican speaker from Governor Dewey down; and they are based on a shrewd calculation of the emotions which can be most easily stirred up in the American voter's mind. The first is what the *New Republic* has called the black-market argument: "I-can-bring-your-boy-home-quicker-after-the-war." And the other is the good old anti-red cry which is being sounded with every possible variation against the Political Action Committee. The Republicans are working overtime on every name on the Democratic side which has a Jewish or foreign sound; and Sidney Hillman with his P.A.C. has become to them a nefarious instrument of communism and of everything that is anti-American. Thus it is anti-American for trade unions to spend money in political campaigns, though the traditions of the Fathers bless whatever sums may be put up by big business interests.

In the field of foreign policy the reasons for preferring Roosevelt seem clear. Whatever one may think about particular incidents in his record, he has shown a genuine determination to cooperate with other powers both in winning the war and in organizing the peace. Mr. Dewey's words on these subjects are unexceptionable; but as the *New York Times* has pointed out, his party is hopelessly split between a majority *Chicago Tribune* isolationist wing and a minority *New York Herald Tribune* internationalist wing. Only a very strong party man can believe that the candidate who appeals to both these groups at the same time is to be trusted in handling future foreign policy. It is significant that Mr. Wendell Willkie up to the moment of his death had carefully avoided supporting the Dewey candidature; that Senator Ball of Minnesota, one of the Republicans in the B2H2 group, has come out against Dewey; and that the *New York Times* itself, which opposed Roosevelt as a third-term candidate, has now announced its support of him for a fourth-term because it does not trust the Republicans on international affairs.

But it is hard for a liberal to feel very enthusiastic about four years more of Roosevelt in the White House, except that this saves the country from something worse. The President has come to see himself so much as a world statesman that he has lost interest in the New Deal at home. He is trusting his election to the reactionary Southern Democrats allied with the corrupt big-city machines of the North; the vigor which the P.A.C. is throwing into the cause is something quite outside of the Democratic party itself. In Europe, where the American Revolution once helped to bring on the French Revolution, and where America was once represented by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, present-day American policy seems to be to prevent another French revolution, to ally itself with the Vatican and with all the Bourbon elements in every country. And in Washington, unless an unforeseen liberal sweep shows itself in the November voting, there will be an anti-progressive Senate and House of Representatives. In both Chambers the reactionaries of two parties have now had quite a few years of experience in jointly thwarting the efforts of the White House.

What to Do with Germany

Evidently, to judge from the discussion that is going on, we on our side need more time to make up our minds as to what we are going to do with Germany after we have overcome German military resistance. The issue which seems to excite most people, between a "hard" peace and a "soft" peace, is largely an irrelevant one. And when the hard-peace advocates, like Secretary Morgenthau, propose to turn Germany into an agricultural and pastoral country and to wipe out its large-scale industry, they show that they are letting their emotions get the better of their common sense. Or else they are proposing the mass murder of a large part of the German population; for an agricultural area cannot support the present population of the country. Moreover, to de-industrialize Germany means to impoverish the rest of Europe, which depends upon German industrial products and upon German markets. (This is as true of

England as of the continent.) All proposals about the treatment of Germany need to be submitted to three tests. 1. Are they measures which will be supported by Anglo-American public opinion some ten or twenty years hence? (It is easy enough, for example, to partition the country now, but will we be prepared to enforce the partition in the future? And for how long in the future?) 2. Are they measures which will make for peace in the future? 3. Are they measures which will improve the economic and social welfare of Europe? Whatever bitterness we may feel about the brutal and bestial atrocities which Germans have committed, the most severe punishment we can inflict will not bring the victims of these atrocities back to life again. We must never let ourselves forget that our primary duty is to plan for conditions in which it will not again be necessary for us to sacrifice the lives of our own young men. And this means that we must plan for a peaceful and prosperous Europe, of which Germany is an essential part.

That Canadian History Text-Book

It has become popular of late for orators about the national unity of Canada to make proposals that all Canadian school children be taught the history of their country out of one standard text-book. This is the sort of thing that always seems attractive to people who like to be on the side of the angels without having to go through the unpleasant process of thinking out what they really believe. The single uniform history text for the whole country makes a good theme for Rotary or Canadian Club luncheons, and for conventions of advertising executives; it is just the stuff for a bank president to add to his annual report when he wants to make a display of his wide cultural interests and when he has run out of clichés about the dangers of socialism. But we were surprised to see a man of the quality of Abbé Maheux taking up this topic.

As a matter of fact the single text-book proposal has not the ghost of a chance of ever being adopted. Imagine the nine provincial departments of education ever giving up their individual control over this juicy plum of an authorized text-book which they can dangle every few years before publishers looking for sure profits and authors looking for nice royalties!

And if the nine departments of education ever did agree on one single text, the result would be wholly bad. By the time that all the interested racial, religious, economic and sectional groups had been satisfied that there was nothing in the book to offend them, the national text-book would have become so gutless and colorless that its one sure effect on the unfortunate students would be to send them in swarms to study Latin or George Drew's new subject of religion. The fact is that the thing which most needs eradicating from our Canadian school systems is this standard text-book habit. It prevents the good teachers from doing a good job, and it leads inevitably to examinations which are mere tests of the drilling capacity of the teacher and the memorizing capacity of the student. If we want to turn our young people into good Canadians by giving them an imaginative interest in Canadian history we must adopt different methods of introducing them to the rich and varied material which is available to them in the Canadian historical field. Turn them on to the explorers' own stories of their travels. And above all bring them face to face with the fact that our Canadian political history has been full of controversy, and that in a community as diverse as

ours a great many points of view are inevitable. Let them know what George Brown said about the Catholics (and also about the Bank of Montreal and the Grand Trunk Railway Company), and let them read Mr. Bourassa's statements about the real enemy of the French Canadians in 1917 being not Prussian militarism but Anglo-Saxon materialism. Let them find out that our Canadian forbears were real flesh-and-blood people. Every youngster on the city street or in the countryside senses today that he lives in the midst of all kinds of social tensions, and our history will acquire some meaning for him if he finds out that Canada has always been like that. But he will never find it out from an authorized national text-book. All the real life which should make us interesting to ourselves is drained out of text-books; what the student learns from them is that our Canadian history is as dull as ditchwater.

Sound Advice from George

Scarcely had one of the two famous Toronto Georges returned from lecturing the English than the other was discovered following suit in the land of our Good Neighbors. Canada's wonder boy, the publisher of the *Globe and Mail*, was introduced to the New York *Herald Tribune* forum by its publisher, Mrs. Ogden Reid—somewhat misleadingly, perhaps—as one who has “long been known for his energetic open-mindedness. . . . Canadians say that anything he decides should be done will be done.” She did not tell her audience exactly how many Canadians say that about Mr. McCullagh; but then you can't expect Americans, with their susceptibility to charm, to be too precise about their Canadian visitors. Mr. McCullagh's speech (published verbatim in the *Globe and Mail*) was the usual stuff about amity and common interest and a partnership of power between Britain and the United States, about the Commonwealth as a model for world organization, and about Canada's role as an interpreter transatlantically. But towards the end he had some sound things to say about the press and its responsibilities. “Journalism,” he declared, “must clear away the dust and cobwebs of prejudice and rededicate itself to the trust given the press in our system of democracy. . . . In the period we shall shortly face let us beware of emphasizing old prejudices and superficial differences and stressing selfish short-term economic policies.” Those words strike an important note, and coming from the publisher of an influential Canadian newspaper they should be heeded. We shall now expect the *Globe and Mail* to cease “emphasizing old prejudices and superficial differences” between sections of the Canadian population, and to stop “stressing selfish short-term economic policies” advocated by some of our mining and industrial moguls who hope thereby to reap fat profits no matter what happens to the rest of us.

Insufficient Evidence

One might view with some alarm the assertions of Major Conn Smythe that Canadian soldiers are being sent into action untrained, were it not for the suspicion that these charges are linked with partisan efforts to embarrass the King government. Undoubtedly cases can be found of comparatively “green” soldiers being sent to join seasoned troops at the front. This happens in every war, whether fortuitously or as a matter of policy. It has no parallel with the dispatch of complete units to active areas, untrained and unequipped, as was done at Hong Kong. To create the

impression, without a thorough survey of all the facts and in order to bolster the case for shipping draftees overseas, that completely untrained troops are being sent holus bolus into battle shows a particularly ruthless kind of callousness. Such charges, however sincere, when made by an officer with limited opportunities for observation, through a newspaper violently opposed to Mr. King, and immediately implemented by a politician like Mr. Drew with even less means of knowing the facts, are bound to suggest partisan motives. Accusations so general that they would take months of investigation to prove or disprove, raise fears and doubts which no amount of official denial can remove, and therefore have an element of irresponsibility. No evidence yet produced justifies the sweeping nature of these charges.

Quickness of the Hand

It is a doleful comment on our democracy that observers can foresee, with some measure of reason, the likelihood of Ontario's ineffable ex-premier, Mitch Hepburn, returning to political eminence and power. It suggests that many voters have no minds, and react only to charm, like the bridegrooms in the "marrying debs" soap ads. The incomparable Mitch, whose real forte was so well revealed at his induction into New York's Saints and Sinners Club, has worked every variety of political card trick without, it seems, losing the affection of a large part of Ontario's rural electorate. One can imagine Mr. King feeling uneasy over an olive branch tendered by so deft an artist in legerdemain. Will it have any more likelihood of permanency than the other paper flowers Mitch has been pulling from his hat for a generation? The Communists don't care, of course. They are used to quick turns and agile twists and don't count on people staying put: sufficient unto the night is the bedfellow thereof. And if Ontario farmers prefer charm and prestidigitation to the more solid qualities, and Mitch can bring in the votes, why should Mr. King worry either? No doubt Ontario's premier onion grower will soon be mounting the manure spreaders at fall fairs, delighting his audience with political rabbits conjured from his coat tails, vowing that he never really loved George Drew and never really hated Willie King, and that no matter what he might have said about the CIO the Labor-Progressives are good guys, and what we need is national unity, under Mitch Hepburn and Tim Buck.

One Touch of Humor

Prime Minister Mackenzie King has accepted an invitation to succeed the late Stephen Leacock as Canadian representative to the international Mark Twain Society. We have never thought of the PM as a humorist, nor as one especially appreciative of humor. Many of his utterances, indeed, show an overly serious and sedate mind, with a bent for ponderosity rather than lightness. Nor has he been known to evince a discernment of the humorous when misquoted in the press or twitted by more flippantly disposed opponents in the House. Nevertheless, he has occasionally emitted flashes of wit, as when he told Mr. Graydon it was less important to know where Mr. Bracken stood than where he sat. It is possible that the demands placed upon anyone trying to fill the shoes of the rollicking Leacock as an exemplar of Canadians' love of humor will have a stimulating effect on Mr. King. We may even find him some day,

perhaps at a temporary loss for a more spontaneous rejoinder, contradicting the premature report of his political demise with Mark's own famous words: "The report is greatly exaggerated."

Total War in Canada

Sir William Mulock was buried to the accompaniment of an outpouring of hypocritical editorials in our newspapers such as has never before been equalled in the history of Canadian journalism. Mr. George McCullagh took part, as the representative of Canadian culture, in the annual *New York Herald Tribune* forum, and talked about Magna Charta, Shakespeare, the three thousand miles of undefended frontier, and the "red sweet wine of youth" on both sides of the border. Mr. King has appealed to our soldiers by putting Ian Mackenzie in charge of their fortunes when they return from the war. Mitch Hepburn has come out with a flaming denunciation of George Drew for his irresponsible words and actions in relation to the rest of Canada. And here in Ontario the government, the Liberals and the Labor-Progressives are making simultaneous threats of forcing an early provincial election because they all think that the CCF doesn't want one. Oh well, let's put it all down to this total war that we are fighting.

United Nations, Ltd.

► THE SECURITY SCHEME for the future which has been worked out at Dumbarton Oaks is now before the peoples of the United Nations for discussion. Our Canadian prime minister has commended it to our study, and presumably it will be a matter of interest in the next session of Parliament. But, characteristically enough, the text of the scheme has not been published in our Canadian newspapers. We are, as usual, expected to conclude that our best course is to follow the British and Americans without asking too many questions.

In the United States, where vigorous opposition is expected to some parts of the scheme, the spokesmen of the Department of State have been emphasizing over and over again that it is all tentative and incomplete, that Dumbarton Oaks was only a meeting of technical experts who are now reporting to their governments. But there is no doubt that the scheme represents the ideas of President Roosevelt and Mr. Hull, and that, so far as post-war organization goes, this is what we are fighting the war for.

As every informed person knew would happen, there is nothing in the plan of world federation, and there is very little place in it for the operation of world public opinion. Essentially it is an organization through which the Big Three will continue to run world affairs just as they are running the war at present. The little powers are thrown a sop in the form of a General Assembly in which they can blow off steam, but all effective decisions as to action to preserve security against some future aggressor remain in the hands of the big fellows. We are told that this is in accordance with the realities of power politics, but it is ominous for the future that the big fellows haven't been able to agree among themselves right at the start. Chapter V, Section C of the report runs as follows: "Note—The question of voting procedure in the Security Council is still under consideration." And when the big fellows can't

agree, each begins to strengthen himself by an array of feudal followers among the little fellows. Which is the first step towards another global war.

The new organization, which is to be known as the United Nations, is to consist of a General Assembly, a Security Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat. There is also to be an Economic and Social Council, the relationship of which with these other organs is not very clearly defined.

The General Assembly is to be very much like the Assembly of the old League of Nations. It is to consist of representatives from all "peace-loving" states, and they can talk about anything. But they can't take action. "The General Assembly should not of its own initiative make recommendations on any matter relating to the maintenance of international peace and security which is being dealt with by the Security Council." On first study of the document, and without prejudice, we should advise that Mr. King, when he retires from active Canadian politics, be named as the permanent Canadian representative on the General Assembly. He could give expression to all our well-known Canadian ideals on international affairs, and there would never be any need for him to commit himself to anything.

All real power is located in the Security Council. This consists of representatives of five great powers who have permanent seats — United States, Great Britain, Russia, China, France—and of six small powers who are to be chosen for two-year tenures in rotation by the General Assembly. This body will be in charge of "sanctions" against aggressors, which means that the big powers, as long as they agree with each other, will be in charge. All action is prevented if one of the big powers votes in the negative. The fundamental difficulty which has arisen in this part of the scheme is whether, supposing one of the big powers itself becomes the accused, it shall have the right to vote in its own case. Russia says yes, Britain and the States say no. The Anglo-American pair can afford to take a noble stand of self-abnegation on this point, because Britain knows that the United States would never vote for action against her, and the United States can depend upon similar British protection in the Council. But Russia has no friendly big powers in the Council on whom she can rely, she remembers what happened in the League of Nations when she first invaded Finland, and so she proposes to rely upon herself. We shall hear all kinds of rationalizations of the stands taken by the two parties on this voting question, but this is the real reason for them. What it all comes to is that peace against some future challenger is firmly based upon the overwhelming power of the Big Three as long as they agree with one another. But this would be true whether there were an imposing international organization or not.

Whether the Big Three will continue to agree indefinitely depends a good deal upon the kind of peace that is made now at the end of the fighting. A peace which embodies a wide measure of justice to all parties will be to a great extent self-enforcing, since no one will feel any overwhelming urge to break it. A peace which is difficult to enforce will put an ever increasing strain upon the capacity of the Big Three to work together. A peace which leaves Germany in a position against which the next generation of Germans are almost sure to revolt, or which leaves China in disorder, is one which will almost certainly find the Big Three within the next twenty or thirty years aligned into two opposed camps. Much more depends upon the kind of peace we

make than upon the kind of machinery we set up to enforce it. So that most of the talk about this Dumbarton scheme being different from the League Covenant in that it is not enmeshed in the peace treaties is completely unreal.

The United States faces a special difficulty in the question of how its armed forces are to be put at the disposal of the Security Council. According to the American constitution a declaration of war can only be made by Congress, and the Senate must ratify all treaties. Will the Americans allow their Executive, without Senatorial or Congressional control, to have practically the discretionary power of determining how the American representative on the Security Council votes on critical issues on which war or peace may in future depend? As soon as the elections are decided, there will be a big struggle over this point in Washington. It may be predicted with confidence that the isolationist forces will choose this point as the basis of "reservations" through which they can effectively sabotage any real international cooperation by their country.

There has not been much discussion so far about Chapter IX of the Draft which deals with arrangements for international social and economic cooperation. This looks to us like the most hopeful part of the whole scheme. In this social and economic organization will be fitted UNRRA, the ILO, the agencies to be set up under the Bretton Woods scheme for currency stabilization and international loans, and in due course, one may hope, a host of other instruments for promoting international economic welfare. If all these work well we will not need to worry much over how the Security Council is organized or how it votes. And on these various "functional" bodies the smaller nations will be able to play an active and useful part; this may help to save them from the sense of futility and frustration which the General Assembly and the Security Council are certain to produce. And they may be able to have some influence upon the great powers so as at least to modify power politics by the infusion of more and more welfare politics.

But it is hard to foresee any peaceful solution to the question of power politics. However much we may try to freeze the existing balance of power as it exists at the end of the war, the one thing that is sure to happen in the twentieth as in all previous centuries is that some states will rise in power and some others will decline. During the nineteenth century tremendous changes in the balance of power took place without world peace being much disturbed. New states like Germany, Japan, the U.S.A. arose, and there was room for them. But it all ended in the explosion of 1914. In the nineteenth century the world enjoyed an expanding economy such as it had never known in previous history, and this was the fundamental reason for the long peace. Can the statemanship of our century provide a revised version of that expanding economy, or are we condemned to pure power politics with its inevitable final disaster?

[We are informed in a letter from Forward Publishing Company in regard to their essay contest that Dr. Eugene Forsey of Ottawa has consented to judge the essays submitted on "The Case for Socialism in Canada" and Professor J. L. McDougall of Queen's University, Kingston, has accepted the position of judge of the essays on "The Case Against Socialism in Canada." A prize of \$250 is to be awarded for the best essay on each subject.—Ed.]

International Federal Government

P. M. Brown

► THERE WE WERE in our local CCF Club busily engaged in passing resolutions for the National Convention. You know how it is. It's getting late and the chairman is becoming nervous. There is still a lot of business to do and the hall has to be cleared at 10 p.m. The members are getting restless because they have to go to work early next morning. The girl watching the children wants to go home, too. And just then up comes the resolution which causes the most excitement and discussion. In our case it was a resolution on "International Federal Government."

Now you needn't think that it was one of these "dreamer" resolutions without practical reasoning or practical purpose. On the contrary, it was very well-reasoned, logically composed and ably interpreted by a member of our armed forces. And it went straight to the core of the problem of establishing a lasting peace. If it should become part of our party policy it would ask the Canadian Government to "take the initiative to promote, after the establishment of peace, an International Federal Government, representative of all nations." The resolution, furthermore, defined the purpose and task of such a world government, namely, to exercise control over: an international police force; administration of territories not yet ready for self-government; the Bank of International Settlements; a foreign exchange stabilization fund; administration of the UNRRA; the International Labor Organization; the world postal and traffic system; international trade; and, finally, international investments.

The exciting discussion into which our meeting plunged head-over-heels revealed immediately the two methods of thought that prevail in every democratic socialist party: the "political strategist," who is interested primarily in the goal as such, and the "political tactician," whose prime interest is how to get there. While the "strategists" stuck to the text of the resolution, the "tacticians" proposed to insert the words "International Agencies" instead of "International Federal Government." (Just *en passant*: there is no better sign of healthiness in the intellectual life of our party than the persistence of *both* trends in our thinking. Occurring side by side and counterbalancing each other they are indispensable for staking out the political course of a socialist party. The split in the European labor movement had the unfortunate result of leading to the deterioration of both groups—one to demagogic sectarian rabble-rousing, the other to cowardly opportunism.)

Now if we want to understand the implications of "International Federal Government," we have first to consider these basic questions: Do we really wish to have an "International Federal Government" vested with the tremendous powers outlined in the resolution? For what reasons do we wish it? And even if desirable, is it possible to attain?

The movers of the resolution stated clearly the reason for their preference—namely, "neither the system of alliance nor the system of balance-of-power nor the League of Nations was able to secure peace."

The primary purpose of an "International Federal Government," then, is held to be the establishment of a lasting peace. At this point, however, let us not make the mistake

of reverting to a type of moralizing pacifism which, moved by the most noble notions, regards peace as the absolute "good" and war as the absolute "bad." If we had shared this view then there would have been no reason for us to take up arms against Hitler. No doubt by submitting to Hitler's demands we could have had peace. It would have been the peace of the churchyard and the jail, but it would have been peace, the famous "peace at any price." Nor must we forget that Hitler also had his plan for "International World Government," i.e. the so-called "New Order." Whoever thinks that the Nazi plan for the "New Order" was merely a propaganda stunt to induce the peoples of Europe to submit to German domination is sorely mistaken. A study of the plan for the "New Order" drawn up by Reichsminister Rosenberg, its author, reveals how shrewdly and logically it took certain interests into consideration for achieving international co-operation on a fascist basis. If this had not been the case the Nazis would never have been able to stake their hopes on the numerous "collaborationists," "appeasers," and "quiescents" which, alas, could be found in nearly every country. Hitler's fascist world government plan, in brief, was a serious alternative to any democratic plan for world government, and we just managed to escape its realization by the skin of our teeth.

One may object, of course, that this is not what we mean by world government, that Hitler's "New Order" was based primarily on world domination by Germany, that it would have been a "pax germanica," a German peace, but not an international peace. That is quite true. But neither must we forget that Hitler's German fascism is not the only conceivable form of fascism, and that at present we are dangerously near another form which is truly international—the fascism of international banks, trusts, and cartels. It is not "peace" as such which we desire but a democratic peace, and not "International Federal Government" as such but an International Federal Government based on the principles of democracy.

The next question must be: Is such a new world order possible or feasible? To answer that question it is not enough to draw up a theoretical plan and answer the doubting Thomas who asks "Why should it work?" with the counter-question "Why shouldn't it work?" Have we any precedent in history, analogous to chaotic conditions of our international situation, where chaos has been overcome and peace and government established? Decidedly yes! In the national history of the British and other peoples. In feudal England of the 14th century peace and security were as rare and war as common inside the life of the nation as they are today among nations. Baron stood against baron, town against town. Loyalties which today are national then were local. "These little towns," we read in Trevelyan's *Social History of England*, "had burgher pride of the most exclusive kind. Their constant preoccupation was to keep and extend the privileges of self-government and the monopoly of local trade. To defend the merchants of their own town in their dangerous journeys, and to gather in their debts owing in other towns, municipal action was quasi-diplomatic; Norwich talked to Southampton like England to France. Commercial treaties between towns were common . . ." Most likely the inhabitants of Norwich and Southampton on the average were unable and unwilling to acknowledge that there could be interests higher than those merely of their own town, or that their towns ever would be required to give up their "sovereignty" to a higher authority—the nation. Similarly the nationalists in our time cannot see the possibility of giving up their cherished national "sovereignty" in order to establish security and peace in international society.

History, however, has shown two ways in which unity and security may develop. Across the channel in medieval France the same insecurity and everlasting strife existed, until the power of the crown had grown strong enough to subdue and exterminate the feudal barons. But while in England through a chain of fortunate circumstances a strong central government could be established without endangering the rights and liberties of individuals and communities, in France the struggle for national security ended with the establishment of the autocratic power of absolute kings. This was blown to pieces by the Great Revolution. Since then France has suffered from having governments that were either too powerful or too weak, with revolutions and civil strife never far away.

There is no question that in the international field it will be possible and necessary to establish a system of security by international government. But there will also be the alternative of democratic government which we desire and autocratic government which we abhor.

If we have now agreed that "International Federal Government" is both desirable and possible, and that it has to be democratic, then our final question is how to achieve it. In that respect many of our people are led into a blind alley by their habit of overstressing the constitutional angle of our political and social problems. It is part of our western (one could even say Anglo-Saxon) inheritance to be fighting our social and economic struggles in the form of constitutional changes. And it is a typical mistake of 19th century liberal thinking to imagine that as long as a nation gets a proper constitution, preferably modelled upon the English or American system of government, then it will have democracy. The mistake is to believe that a constitution creates democracy, not realizing that democracy creates the constitution.

Hence, the failure of the League of Nations, the first experiment in international government, is attributed more often than not to its constitutional weaknesses: firstly, that the Covenant did not visualize the need of an international power to enforce the decisions of the League; and secondly, that it left the sovereignty of its members unimpaired, especially in regard to their affiliation (i.e., every member had the right to leave the League if it felt like doing so).

While both factors undoubtedly contributed to the downfall of the League, they certainly were not the basic causes. It is a fallacy to believe that the League had no power to enforce its decisions. It was, rather, that members of the League shied away from the responsibility of doing so. It is equally false to think that Japan or Germany left the League merely because the Covenant permitted such a step. It was, rather, that League members did not have sufficient unity of interest to prevent individual secession.

Again we find striking analogies in the history of nations. The American revolution had been under way for nearly ten years when the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia. Two more years had passed before the Declaration of Independence was adopted. It was more than a year later before the Articles of Confederation were agreed upon and the name United States of America adopted. Five more years were needed to sign the Constitution of the United States, which came several months after the treaty of peace with Great Britain had been concluded. Thus federal Government was *de jure* established in America long after federal action had been taken.

The same principle applied in a later decade. Many an American student of constitutional law was certainly aston-

ished to learn on highest legal authority long after the Civil War that the legal reasoning of the Southern members of the United States was perfectly sound and that, from a solely constitutional point of view, they could never have been prevented from seceding. What prevented them was not a constitutional provision but the strong interest which the Northern states had in the Union and their victory in the Civil War.

Again, the B.N.A. Act is not a good basis for hindering any of the Canadian provinces from leaving the Confederation. If it did not happen and will not happen it's not for the reason that there is a constitutional provision against it (which there isn't) but because the common interest which prevailed among the Fathers of Confederation was strong and grew stronger as time passed. In other words it is not Federal Government which creates unity, but interest in unity which creates Federal Government.

In principle there may be nothing wrong in going "on record" as favoring "International Federal Government." *Tactically*, however, it would hinder the attainment of this great ideal if it were adopted in principle by the Canadian people before its practical value could be proven to them (like the value of the Federal Government was demonstrated to the American people during the War of Independence, for instance). Therefore our first and immediate task must be to promote those instruments of international co-operation which will demonstrate to the Canadian people that international government is in the national interest. In the future, the existence of a strong international organization, able to survive and overcome the perpetually disintegrating force of national egotism, will depend, not on the cleverness of its constitutional design, but on the services which its institutions will render.

Practical solutions for immediate problems during the closing phase of the war, and still more during the chaotic transition period after cessation of hostilities, will at the same time have to furnish the basis for future developments. And the international instruments created for immediate needs may become the kernel for permanent international bodies in the future. An international police force may develop out of the armies of occupation in the conquered Axis countries. Out of the UNRRA a permanent instrument for the distribution of raw materials may develop. In the lend-lease organization the foundations for a trade regulating body, undreamed of by orthodox economists, may already exist. A basic agreement on international exchange, aside from details, has already been reached. And in international air traffic, while private American interests have forced the abandonment of the Canadian plan, some such plan will have to be re-introduced.

Only an incurable optimist will dare to say that the opportunities for building a strong international organization are very favorable right now. We see no guarantee that further development favoring creative international co-operation will really occur. But today, while the immediate stress of war is being felt and while the impression of the dangers which we have passed is still fresh in our minds, nations and their governments may be far more ready to agree on international co-operation than they will be once this danger becomes only a memory. Therefore it is of utmost importance that international instruments of government should be created now, not to draw blueprints of an ideal world, but to solve immediate needs. If these instruments can solve the problems of the post-war period then the constitutional establishment of "International Federal Government" will follow as a logical conclusion of an already established usage.

Post-War Consumption Program

Albert Rose

► OUR DEMOCRATIC GENIUS for conflicting explanation and prognostication of economic events has received a full measure of exercise since the halcyon days of 1928-29. In accounting for the threadbare character of the 'thirties our spokesmen for private enterprise, our economists and politicians have utilized every conceivable mode of reasoning. Now, with the end of the war definitely in sight, perhaps two years hence, we have turned this genius towards an explanation of the fundamental nature of the post-war economic problem. The results are no more gratifying than were the speculations concerning the nature, extent, and recovery from the "great depression."

In explaining Canadian difficulties after 1930, few of us stressed the lack of "effective demand," the lack of employment, and the intense desire for "liquidity," the desire to save rather than spend or invest, as significant causal factors. Characteristically, today, Canadians seem to be minimizing or neglecting the case for internal consumption, for the strengthening of "effective demand" (purchasing power) in the hands of all Canadians, as an important part of the solution to our future economic difficulties. Our leaders can visualize the need for investment; they do not seem to appreciate the requirement for purchasing power to absorb the fruits of such investment.

The war, of course, completed our partial and halting recovery from the depression and has carried us to undreamt-of heights of economic prosperity. Our economic potential for the post-war period can be tremendous if our resources are mobilized and directed into proper economic channels. Yet the impact of modern warfare upon a democratic capitalistic economy is such that, necessarily, maladjustments are created which will increase or intensify the difficulties of readjustment from wartime to peacetime production.

On the one hand we can, justifiably, laud the basis of our future economic progress by pointing to a great industrial plant erected on the basis of a \$10-\$15 billion war production program. We can claim, truthfully, that our workers are better trained than was the case in 1939, and that there are a great many more of them to man our factories. We can emphasize the tremendous wartime savings of Canadians and correlate them mentally with wartime shortages of durable and non-durable consumers' goods. And yet, in all this, we are doing little more than congratulate ourselves upon wartime achievements, howsoever deserving we may be, without offering any realistic solutions for the problems of the future.

The other side of the picture, that of translating our potential into "full employment" is less roseate. On December 1, 1943, more than 5,000,000 Canadians were gainfully employed or in the Armed Forces. The comparable total for August 31, 1939, was 3,750,000. Assuming the most favorable retirements from the labor market after the war, it seems clear that "full employment" involves the creation of some 500,000 to 750,000 more job opportunities than were available before the war. "Full employment," moreover, appears to require at least a national income of \$7½ billions per annum. To support and maintain a national income of this level, and simultaneously to ensure "full employment," we shall require an estimated

annual total of \$11½ billions of gross capital formation, i.e., investment.

Occasioned by the war, two serious fundamental economic maladjustments may face us during the readjustment period from wartime to peacetime production. Canada's wartime program of capital expansion has involved a significantly great emphasis upon the production of so-called producers' goods as opposed to the production of consumers' goods. The essence of post-war readjustment is a reverse shift to the production of durable and non-durable consumers' goods without a serious depression in the vital field of producers' goods production. In brief, production of producers' and consumers' goods in the post-war economy should be in balance according to the pattern of peacetime consumption.

We face too, the probability of a significant disparity between our post-war requirements for investment and our prosperity for saving, so emphasized in wartime. During the war our requirements for new capital formation and purchasing power to sustain the present scale of national income have been met through the action of the central government in financing expenditures on war, free gifts to Britain and Mutual Aid to our Allies, and through a government Plant Extension Program amounting to more than \$900,000,000.

There are four principal sources of gross capital investment in the post-war period, hence four major ways in which we can take appropriate action to ensure "full employment" from the point of view of economic production, i.e. the creation of goods and services. They are: private investment, public investment, export trade and internal consumption programs. Private investment is the first source, and we have been assured by all spokesmen for private enterprise that the post-war period will be one of magnificent industrial expansion and investment. These promises, however, are predicated upon fundamental revisions in the post-war tax system in the direction of easing the burden on business, and important withdrawals, on the part of government, from interference with the free functioning of our economic processes.

In a recent article in the *Canadian Forum*, Dr. Stuart Jamieson has criticized adequately the stated program of manufacturing industry for post-war investment. While businessmen seem to recognize the role of government expenditures in wartime, they do not appear prepared to fill the gap when such public expenditures are withdrawn or cut down sharply after the war. On one hand they would like the Dominion Government to withdraw as far as possible from the field of economic investment, but on the other hand, "private enterprise" has little to offer in the way of new investment guaranteeing great employment. Certainly the proposed total investment of \$300 millions during three post-war years is an unworthy contribution on the part of manufacturing industry which has gained much from our war effort and has been assured governmental guarantees against post-war losses in new ventures.

Many of us look to exports, and a tremendous increase in Canada's foreign trade, to induce sufficient investment to meet a large part of our requirements for capital after the war. Our war equipment, munitions and foodstuffs have been exported in tremendous quantities during the war period and we hope, vaguely, that these exports will in some way guarantee a continued tremendous flow in the future. What is too often forgotten is the fact that we all, as taxpayers and public creditors, pay to sustain the present flow of goods, and a good deal of the immediate post-war export trade will, in all likelihood, be similarly financed. Only in this way can we play a significant part in post-war international rehabilitation.

Even if this were not so, what hopes could we justifiably place in our export trade? Too often, it seems, those who prate loudest of our future exporting position have failed to examine the pre-war data of our international trade relations. Since 1935 Canada has been favored by a substantial balance in her international trading. It is obvious, however, that this favorable balance (of exports over imports) has been derived from an export surplus in trade with Britain and the Empire sufficient to cover the deficit in Canada's trade with the United States. Now that Britain has liquidated the major part of her investments in this country, now that Australia and New Zealand have drawn closer to the United States, and with the drive for freer trade likely to exclude "preferences," what vital guarantees have we of great post-war intra-Empire trade?

Our total exports (including net non-monetary gold shipments) amounted to more than \$1,000,000,000 in 1939 and our net export surplus was \$342,000,000. At the present time annual exports are running at the rate of nearly \$3,500,000,000 and our surplus over imports is more than \$1,500,000,000 per annum. The fact is, therefore, that even a 50% increase in pre-war exports would bring us only to half our present export level. And nothing has been said of the necessity for larger imports in a world that has been promised fewer trade restrictions on an international scale. In truth we have no guarantee that we will not have some problems in keeping exports even at pre-war levels.

There remain the two neglected and interrelated sources of post-war capital formation, namely, public investment and internal consumption programs (including social welfare programs). It is difficult to understand the scant attention now being paid to these sources of employment and investment. Perhaps the reason is that we fail, as a nation, to realize that expenditures on public works and on widespread programs of social welfare provide employment and purchasing power just where they are needed within our present economic structure, namely, among the low-income groups. Precisely for this reason public expenditures in these fields have what economists call a relatively high employment multiplier (for each person hired directly through such expenditures, two or three may be hired indirectly) for the obvious reason that those persons most likely to benefit directly from such expenditures will in turn spend practically 100% of their cash incomes.

Typically, the economic significance of the program of family allowance payments has been lost or neglected. While the net cost to the public will amount to \$200,000,000 per annum, a mere fraction of the total expenses on consumption required to sustain employment in the post-war period, it is clear that very little of these net payments will be saved; consequent expenditures will accordingly go to sustain employment and investment opportunities. Moreover, we should regard the present measure as only one part of a complete program of social welfare, a program which could do much to sustain purchasing power, employment and investment during the difficult readjustment period to come.

Since the great depression the desire for "liquidity" appears to have become greatly intensified. We Canadians have saved billions of dollars in the form of Victory Bonds and our bank deposits have more than doubled during the war. Professional optimists are certain that we shall all rush in the immediate post-war period to buy automobiles, radios, refrigerators and other durable consumers' goods, plenty of clothing, furniture and new homes. Actually, our willingness to part with wartime savings and decrease our liquidity will be in direct proportion to the confidence we shall have in the ability of government and business to maintain "full employment." If there should be a sig-

nificant amount of immediate post-war unemployment, if it becomes evident that both business and government have failed to provide adequate plans to ensure full employment, we may not find our potential "effective demand" being utilized in the manner essential to a rapid readjustment to peacetime conditions.

To ensure public confidence in our ability to maintain full employment we ought to explore fully both sides of the economic process, consumption and production. A tremendous boom in the construction of new homes is predicted; yet we have thus far ignored the tremendous stimulus to construction activity that would result from the application of a broad scheme of subsidized housing for low-income groups.

In the field of post-war tax revision we seem again to have neglected the consumption side of the picture. The importance of the incentives to invest, to risk, and to expand in a capitalistic economy, are well recognized. But the significance of an inadequately distributed purchasing power and a tendency towards over-saving seems to have escaped the notice of our businessmen and political leaders. The latter have promised to revise our post-war tax system to ease the burden on business, and some revision is justified. Similarly, most of us realize that we shall need a post-war market for consumers' goods much larger than our pre-war market, as large, perhaps, as our wartime market. Surely then we ought to examine and revise those taxes which cut heavily into our ability to consume. We are prepared to go all out for production; yet we neglect to ensure that our products can be purchased when they reach market.

Our maintenance of full employment requires not only an investment program but a consumption program. If the latter also contributes in the field of social welfare so much the better. If we can expect only an estimated 40-60% of our required capital formation from private investment and foreign trade, surely the role of public capital expenditures and social welfare programs in providing direct employment, purchasing power and secondary additional employment and investment, is worth far more consideration than it appears to have obtained so far after five years of war.

Farmer's Fallow

And must it be that every year
The steady, turning-under share
Shall mark its line along the field
And overthrow the foaming yield
Of Spring's abandonment
And Fall content?
To plough it in, to plough it under
The bursting blossom and the wonder
Of the wild and natural man
In his wilderness of joy—to plan
Winter fallow and after that
The serried order of the wheat?
O well I know we may not eat
Golden rod and bushman's hat
Hepatica and bleeding heart—
Well I know that we must part
This marriage of the soil and sky
That yields such promiscuity:
And yet in every Autumn I
Still wonder why?

James Wreford.

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Socialist Parties in South America

Robert Alexander

► DURING THE LAST few years the CCF has rapidly become one of the world's leading Socialist organizations, and probably the most important Socialist party in the New World. However, there are similar movements in a number of the countries of Latin America and while the CCF is looking towards closer relations with the other Socialist parties within the British Commonwealth, it might also be well to take notice of fellow American Socialists.

Buenos Aires has long been one of the world's leading centres of Socialist strength. Since early in this century the Socialist Party of Argentina, with its strength centred in the capital city, has played an important role in the affairs of the nation. Founded in 1896 from a coalition of various immigrant Socialist groups, under the leadership of Dr. Juan P. Justo, the Argentine Socialist Party has had a distinguished history. As early as 1904 Argentine Socialists succeeded in electing Dr. Alfredo Palacios to the Chamber of Deputies, where he did a notable job of propagandizing for social reforms and for socialism. They early succeeded in electing a number of members of the provincial and municipal legislatures. Just before the first World War the party elected several deputies, and its first Senator, Dr. Iberluccea.

The trade unions, meanwhile, were under the influence of the anarchists and the syndicalists. The anarchists worked through the Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina, which was for a quarter of a century the strongest trade union organization. The syndicalists, originating within the Socialist Party, founded the Confederation Sindical Argentina. These syndicalist leaders, similar to the American I.W.W.'s in outlook, were expelled from the Socialist Party, with the result that Socialist influence and control of trade unions declined almost to nil.

During the first World War there was considerable inflation in Argentina which, with the consequent unrest, aided labor organization. The trade unions grew, as did the S.P. The year 1919 was the most turbulent in Argentine labor history. There were numerous strikes along the waterfront of Buenos Aires, in the packing plants, in the secondary industries, topped off by a general strike in the port of Buenos Aires. This lasted for nearly a month, and completely tied things up in the city. The result of this series of walkouts was that the unions were considerably weakened in the period of the early twenties, and were wracked with dissension.

The Socialist Party, meanwhile, was very successful, electing nearly twenty deputies and two senators in the election of 1926. However, in 1928 there was a major split in the Party, with the right wing forming an Independent Socialist Party. During the late 1920's the trade unions were consolidated. The Socialist-controlled railroad unions joined with the syndicalist Union Sindical Argentina to form the Confederacion General de Trabajadores, which is still the principal Argentine labor federation.

The thirties were a period of upheaval in Argentina. The middle class Radical regime of Pres. Irrigoyen was overthrown by a military coup backed by the conservative landholders. The Radicals were forced out of politics for a while, leaving the Socialists as the only opposition party. As a result the S.P. for a while had 44 deputies, which fell to about a dozen when the Radical Party returned to the

political wars. The trade union movement was considerably disorganized as a result of this civil upheaval.

However, under the regimes of Gen. A. P. Justo and Dr. Ortiz, the dictatorship of 1931 was considerably relaxed and it looked as if democracy was again to triumph in Argentina. Socialists remained in control of Buenos Aires, and sent a number of deputies from that city. The trade union movement grew to include a quarter of a million members.

With the death of Pres. Ortiz and the accession of Pres. R. S. Castillo, Argentine democracy received a serious setback. Castillo was an old Conservative Party hack, sympathetic to the European dictators, particularly Franco. "Interventors" were put in charge of all the provinces, the Socialist-controlled Buenos Aires council was replaced by an appointed board, the freedom of the press was restricted, a strict "neutrality" in the war was enforced. Finally, Pres. Castillo proclaimed a "state of siege," suspending the constitutional guarantees of freedom of press and speech. Meanwhile, he allowed Nazi propaganda and subversive activities to go on unhampered.

The Socialists took the leadership in opposing Castillo. They were most active in organizing aid to the Allies, in urging the re-establishment of democracy, in urging the expulsion of Nazi plotters. They led in founding Accion Argentina, an organization of 500,000 members dedicated to fighting for democracy inside and outside of Argentina.

So unpopular was Castillo that his overthrow was universally hailed, although Nicholas Repetto, the Socialist leader, then in the U.S., warned that no good would come of the new regime. None has. The Ramirez-Farrell regime has done things Castillo never dared—dissolved parliament, destroyed all press freedom, set up concentration camps, "intervened" in private organizations, including trade unions. The most extreme acts were those dissolving all political parties and completely suppressing press freedom.

The Socialist Party fought against this new regime. Although an unfortunate split had occurred in the trade union movement just before the advent of Ramirez, the Party worked for labor unity and it criticized the government in its press as outspokenly as it could. It organized protests against individual acts of the regime. Finally, when the Party was outlawed, and its premises raided, the S.P. issued a ringing protest in which it promised that the idea and organization of Socialism and democracy would be kept going in spite of all the regime might do. Since January, the Socialists have maintained at least a skeleton organization as "The Friends of La Vanguardia" (the Socialist daily newspaper, also suppressed). *La Vanguardia* itself reappeared for a few weeks during April and again with the recent lifting of censorship restrictions in Argentina. However, many Socialist and trade union leaders, including Americo Ghioldi, editor of *La Vanguardia*, have been jailed.

* * * * *

Peru is the home of a peculiar sort of a Socialist Movement. This is the APRA, Alianza Progresiva Revolucionaria Americana, a movement led by Victor Raul Hayo de la Torre. It preaches a sort of agrarian Socialism, mixed up with Indianism and resistance to imperialism. The movement considers itself one with the Socialists of other countries, and has for long been the most powerful political group in Peru.

The APRA was organized in the 1920's by Hayo de la Torre, then a young student. He had been to Europe and the U.S. and had studied the social movements existing there. He went home, adapted many of the ideas of the Marxists to the conditions of his own country, and won widespread support among the Indian peasantry, as well as

WHAT WILL YOU HAVE

● In the liberated lands there have been bursts of cheering.

But there is still a grim job to be done in many lands and waters before complete and final victory gives the whole earth cause for rejoicing.

When that complete and final victory is achieved, will you have little or much to cheer about?

Some will cheer because their men . . . their sons, their fathers . . . will have reached the end of the danger.

Some will cheer because the job they have done at home in long work-packed years will make them feel they have helped to win the victory.

Some will cheer because they have really denied themselves much and will have a substantial stake in the world of tomorrow . . . a sum worth shouting about.

But some will have no pride in anything they have done or done without . . . no share at all in the great glow that will burn in millions of faithful, thankful hearts.

You need not belong to that unfortunate few.

There is still time for you to invest in total victory.

Buy a big share in Canada's Seventh Victory Loan.

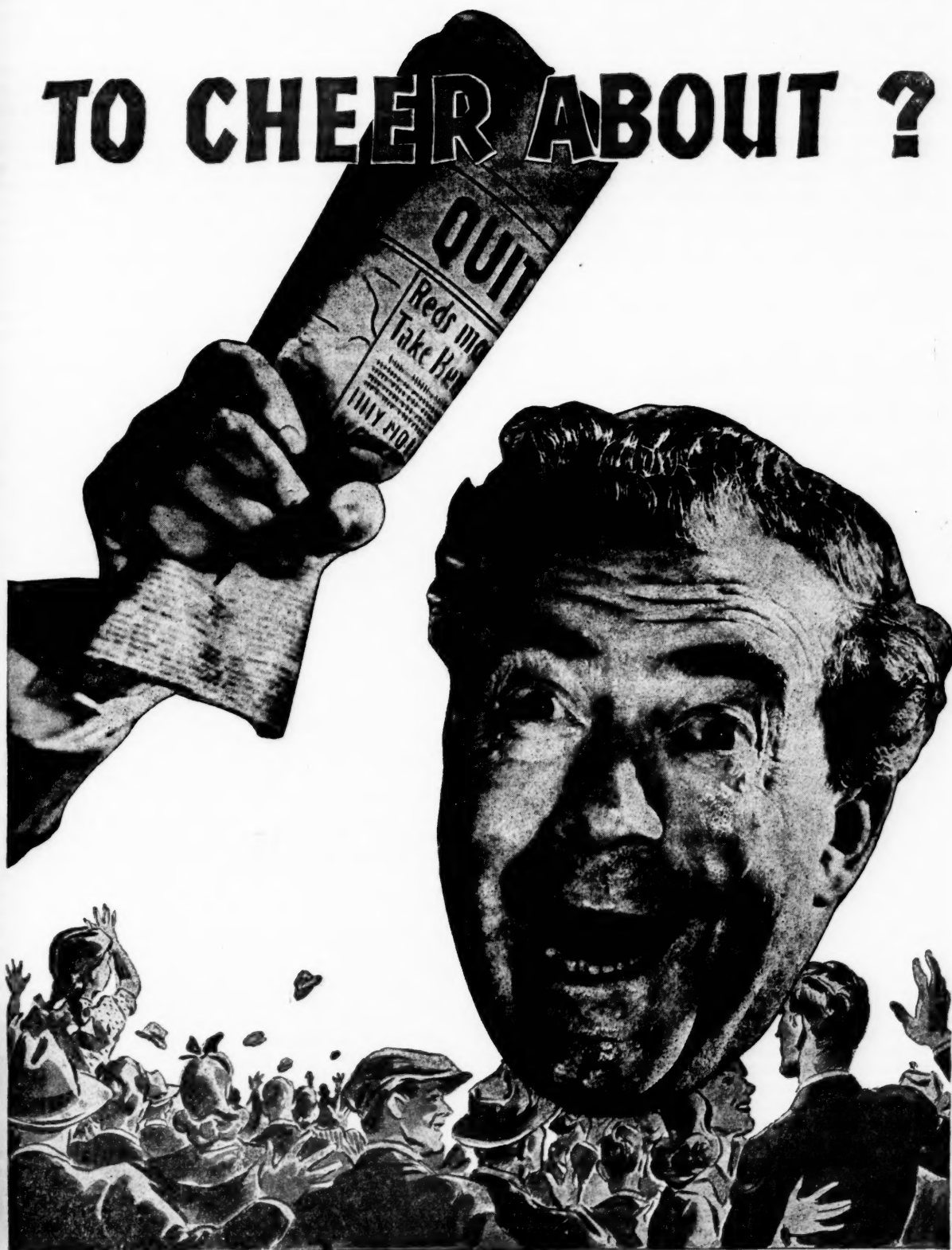
Buyers of bonds in previous loans are urged to buy more this time than ever before.

INVEST IN VICTORY

BUY MORE VICTORY BONDS



TO CHEER ABOUT ?



NATIONAL WAR FINANCE COMMITTEE

among the workers in the towns. With the overthrow of the Leguía dictatorship in 1930 the APRA came above ground and Hayo de la Torre was very active in organizing both the Alianza and the trade unions. These were specially strong among the textile workers. During these years Hayo de la Torre himself twice ran for President, and, although actually elected, was never allowed to take office. In 1936 the APRA backed a candidate of a minor party, who also won but was not allowed to take office.

It has recently been reported that the APRA is losing ground in Peru, which may or may not be true. It is true that the Prado government attempted to organize unions of its own and to adopt a social program to counteract the appeal of the APRA. And in these endeavors the government has lately been reported to be aided by the Communists.

[This is Part I of a brief description of socialist parties in South America.]

Fiscal Policy and Full Employment

Stuart Jamieson

Part II—Subsidizing Private Enterprise

► THE ECONOMIC STAGNATION which since the 1920's has afflicted the system of monopoly capitalism, euphemistically known as "private enterprise," was analyzed briefly in the previous issue of the *Canadian Forum*. Stagnation arises primarily from the wide inequalities in distribution, which lead to over-saving, under-investment and under-consumption. That is to say, business concerns and individuals (particularly in the upper income levels) tend to *save* more of their income than can be profitably *invested* by business men in capital equipment which would expand production. Investment on the scale required is unprofitable because the purchasing power distributed to low-income groups, who constitute the majority of consumers, is insufficient to buy the goods and services which the economy is capable of producing when it operates at full capacity. In Canada, the problem has been accentuated by the control of our major industries by monopolistic concerns which have tended to restrict output in order to maintain high prices and maximize profits.

Hence the vicious circle of depression, unemployment and low income that continued unbroken throughout the Hungry Thirties.

War Prosperity and Post-war Problems

Canada has been lifted out of the depression temporarily by government outlays of public funds to the tune of almost \$15 million for war plants, munitions and supplies of all kinds since 1939, and in the process of converting to wartime needs the structure of the Canadian economy has undergone some fundamental changes.

Reconversion and readjustment to peacetime operations bid fair to become problems of comparable magnitude, and in the process several critical situations will have to be met. It's questionable whether "private enterprise" alone can meet them any better than it could the requirements of wartime expansion. Consider the following estimates, for instance:

At war's end as many as 2,000,000 persons, including almost 1,200,000 in war industries and allied employment and 750,000-800,000 in the Armed Forces, will have to find new employment.

Allowing for reductions along various lines, employment will have to be found for about 1.5 million more persons than are now working in civilian industries (or were working in 1939).

"Full employment" in these terms will require a national income (after allowing for depreciation and replacement) of at least \$7.5 billion (as compared to the national income of about \$4 billion in 1939).

From previous experience it is estimated that about 20% or \$1.5 billion annually of this national income will be *saved*, and will therefore have to be *invested* annually if full employment and economic expansion are to be maintained. The only alternative would be a drastic reduction in savings and an expansion in spending. (On this point it would be well to remember that the *best* that "private enterprise" could do was an annual investment of *less than one-half* this level, or about \$650 million annually, in the boom years of the 1920's! See Testimony by Graham Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada, in *Proceedings*, Banking and Commerce Committee, No. 4, May 17, 1944.)

At war's end the government will have between \$3 billion and \$4 billion of surplus war assets and materials to dispose of, including a public investment of well over \$1 billion in plant, machinery and equipment. (See Testimony of Hon. C. D. Howe in *Hansard*, June 19, 1944, p. 3737.) Some of these government-owned capital goods are highly efficient, up-to-date and suitable for peacetime production of civilian goods. Under "private enterprise" such items tend to create a "hangover" for business men that dampens their incentives.

In the light of these conditions a return to the pre-war economic footing would be unthinkable, even if it were possible. It would mean depression and unemployment on a far more catastrophic scale than we reached in the worst depths of the Hungry Thirties. This would bring the death blow to "private enterprise," as even its best friends will admit.

Government Spending

To forestall post-war breakdown from the causes mentioned, the financial advisers of the federal government have evolved a logical (though not necessarily practicable) program based upon the promise that heavy outlays of public funds can maintain "private enterprise" and full employment in peacetime as well as in wartime.

The program, while it may be logical, is nonetheless a patchwork affair. There is no indication of any comprehensive social security plans such as those adopted by the governments of New Zealand and Great Britain, or those recommended in the Beveridge and Marsh Reports. Nor is there any indication that planned public investment in useful developmental projects will be carried out to assure full employment and economic expansion. On the contrary, the government appears to be avoiding as much as possible any direct participation in the national economy. "Private enterprise" is to be given a virtually free rein and lots of encouragement. Everything, or almost everything, is being done by the government to achieve that Utopia of "practical" business men, the "climate favorable to 'private enterprise'" which will make business concerns feel safe and secure enough to use what "venture capital" they may have.

The series of big money bills totalling billions of dollars which Parliament enacted during the closing weeks of the Session in July and August, together with the measures that have been promised, bear out this analysis of the program. The federal government is committed to huge expenditures in future peacetime years for direct or indirect subsidies, grants, loans and guarantees. Many of these outlays are for useful or necessary social services of benefit to low-income

groups, but their major significance from the point of view of the Administration is fiscal. They are designed to assure financial safeguards without which "private enterprise" would be unable or unwilling to invest savings, expand production and provide employment; to maintain workers whom "private enterprise" is unable or unwilling to employ; and to redistribute purchasing power that "private enterprise" is unable or unwilling to distribute.

One series of measures is designed primarily to *redistribute income* and expand mass purchasing power in order to assure a stable domestic market for private industry. Obviously included in this category are the estimated future annual outlays by the Federal Treasury of some \$200 millions for Family Allowances, \$150-200 million for more liberal Old Age Pensions, and \$150-200 millions for Health Insurance (the latter, in replacing personal expenditures for medical services, would release personal income for other purchases). Also included in this category would be a large part of the \$750 million appropriated for War Service Gratuities and Credits, and of the \$225 million appropriated to guarantee "floor prices" for Fish and Farm Products (this latter measure may, in effect, redistribute income from urban-industrial to rural industries and occupations).

Another series of measures constitutes *direct financial aid and guarantees* to encourage "private enterprise" to undertake new investments. The publicly operated Industrial Development Bank is empowered to loan up to \$100 million to industrial enterprises that cannot obtain intermediate or long-term credit on satisfactory terms from private financial institutions. The \$250 million for Farm Improvement Loans is to provide partial guarantees to private banks on credit they extend to farmers for purchasing equipment. The \$275 million appropriation under the new Housing Act includes provisions to participate in "joint loans" with financial concerns to prospective homeowners, to guarantee bank loans on home improvements, and to loan funds to private corporations to finance the construction of rental housing. The \$400 millions for Export Insurance, Loans and Credits are designed to underwrite the commitments of Canadian exporters to foreign markets. And finally, as a general measure, the new Federal Budget reduces taxation on corporate profits by making more generous allowances for depreciation, losses and new undertakings.

This program as a whole, it is hoped, will end the "economic stagnation" of over-saving, under-investment and under-consumption, and still leave "private enterprise" intact. In certain fundamental respects, though, the validity of the whole undertaking is open to question.

A Conflict of Principles

Underlying the whole program, to begin with, there is a fundamental inconsistency or conflict. On the one hand the federal government proposes to maintain and encourage "private enterprise," and on the other it undertakes to assume many of the major responsibilities that "private enterprise" is supposed to carry.

The main argument on behalf of "private enterprise" is that it *assumes risks* — the risks or chances that have to be taken when one invests money, employs men and produces goods and services to sell on the market. Risks are the only real justification for allowing business men to earn profits.

But what justification is there for profits above the going rate of interest when the government, in effect, *takes over many of the risks that "private enterprise" hitherto is supposed to have assumed?* What steps, if any, are being taken to limit the rate of profit that can be earned?

Monopoly Unimpaired

This underlying conflict of principles is made all the more glaring by the government's apparent inability or unwillingness to do anything about the monopoly problem. As pointed out in a previous article, Canada's major industries, outside of a few like farming and lumbering, are dominated by one or a few large concerns which constitute partial or complete monopolies. The war has led to an even greater degree of concentration.

A program of heavy government spending and lending to stimulate investment and mass purchasing power would be doomed from the start as long as Canadian industry remained as highly monopolized as it is now. For large outlays of public money could be translated into full employment *only if* (a) there were a tremendous expansion in capital investment and in output of goods and services, and (b) prices were kept low enough to enable the public to buy the entire output. As long as our major industries remain under monopoly control, however, a large part of these outlays are likely to be dissipated in high prices and excess profits by restricting output and discouraging new investment. Under these circumstances unemployment would be inevitable *even if there were a high level of money income in the nation.*

Canada's machinery for dealing with monopolies and cartels is wholly inadequate, as the operations of the Combines Investigation Act have made painfully clear. And as a portent of things to come, the Minister of Labor, who has jurisdiction over the Act, asked in Parliament for the miserable little appropriation of only \$28,380 to carry on the work of this branch of his department next year. At the same time the Minister announced the formation of a five-man "Study Committee" to report on international cartels, which suggests that the Combines Investigation machinery has been rather moribund.

That the government's attitude to the monopoly problem in the post-war period is likely to be rather tame is suggested by an analysis in the *Financial Post* of October 7, 1944 (p. 2):

"It is admitted that a more lenient policy may be necessary during the 'transition' period in order that business may accustom itself not only to free competitive conditions such as have disappeared almost entirely under war emergency, but also so as to 'train' business to accustom itself to the more rigorous control of trade associations which is forecast for Canadian post-war policy."

The Liberal government is likely to make some grandiose statement of policy with regard to monopolies and cartels some time before the next federal election. But one may be pardoned for asking just what *could* be done in this field as long as "private enterprise" reigns supreme? To attempt to enforce *competition* by means of "trust busting"—i.e., breaking up large monopoly concerns into small competing units—would mean sacrificing the efficiency of large-scale production, and for that reason it is unlikely to be carried out. On the other hand, to attempt to protect the public by means of *price control and supervision* would involve much waste and duplication of personnel, and would require a peacetime staff comparable in size and power to the present Wartime Prices and Trade Board. For that reason it, too, is unlikely to be carried out. *What real solution can there possibly be other than public ownership and operation of concerns which by their very nature are bound to occupy a monopoly position?*

Where's the Money Coming From?

This gremlin of public finance has considerable import when the various ramifications of the government's program are examined. And one is led to conclude that raising

the money to finance the federal expenditures under the present system will require the maintenance of high taxation, a continually rising national debt, and a permanent redistribution of powers between the federal and provincial governments.

On the last point, it must be remembered that the large tax-revenues which the federal government takes in at present are made possible through the temporary surrender by the provinces to the Dominion of certain major taxing powers during the wartime emergency. Unless and until the federal government, by Dominion-Provincial agreement or otherwise is allowed to *retain* a major share of these taxes in peacetime, this means for financing the program of large public expenditures outlined above will remain highly insecure. And Premier Drew's attitude of narrow provincialism on the question of Family Allowances certainly doesn't help matters!

Just how large a total outlay the whole program will entail each year can't be estimated accurately beforehand. It would vary considerably from year to year according to the duration of the war, the state of our export trade, crop conditions and prices for agricultural products, and so on. An analysis by Kenneth Wilson in the *Financial Post* of September 2, 1944, estimates that the government's new fiscal program, together with the regular non-war Dominion obligations, will require total federal expenditures of \$2.15 to \$2.35 billion annually by 1948 or so, after the huge outlays required during the war and immediate post-war transition years have been made. Other observers seem to reach about the same conclusion (see G. C. Whittaker in *Saturday Night*, September 2, 1944, and Gilbert Jackson, *Montreal Gazette*, October 3, 1944, p. 13).

In other words future peacetime federal outlays annually will be close to four times as high as our pre-war budget of \$400-\$500 million annually.

What Will This Mean in Taxes?

Of the federal government's total expenditures during wartime, reaching \$4.75 billion during 1943 and \$5.85 billion during 1944, a little less than one-half was paid for from taxation and other revenue, amounting to \$2.27 billion in 1943 and \$2.81 billion in 1944. Of the remaining \$2.48 billion in 1943 and \$3.01 billion in 1944, about two-thirds was raised through borrowing from the public and about one-third through borrowing from the banks (Bank of Canada *Statistical Summary*, June-July, 1944).

Now the \$2.27 to \$2.81 billion revenue raised annually through taxation during the war will probably *decrease* during peacetime, even if the high tax rates that now prevail are retained. For one thing, the present national income of \$8.8 billion is likely to be reduced after the war, what with shorter hours, less employment, and lower prices in many items (particularly with a shift of the economy away from high priced war equipment and materials). The present tax intake of the federal government includes revenues from excise and sales taxes and customs duties, as well as income and excess profits taxes on the production and sale of expensive war goods which the government itself purchases. These would disappear in peacetime.

All things considered, if the federal peacetime outlays of close to \$2 billion annually are to be paid from taxation they would appear to require that the present high level be maintained. At the same time, however, as pointed out before, taxes on business earnings are to be reduced, and the financial and editorial pages of our business journals and daily newspapers are now carrying on a concerted campaign to have excess profits taxes eliminated entirely in order to give "private enterprise" more incentive. Presumably, then,

non-business taxes, and particularly those on personal incomes, will have to be *raised* above their present level.

Such taxation faces the danger of discouraging consumption and by *reducing* mass purchasing power at the very time that the government's spending program would be trying to *increase* it, in which case the whole program would be self-defeating. If it is to work at all then it will require still higher rates of taxation on middle and high incomes and reduced taxes on low incomes.

On this basis theoretically the whole program could be financed purely from taxation *but only if the taxes brought in all idle savings* — i.e., income that would neither be spent by individuals nor invested by business concerns. Actually, however, taxes are not this precise and selective. In practice *some income that would have been spent or invested anyway would be taxed*, while *other income that would not have been spent or invested would be left untaxed*. This situation would exert a *deflationary* or depressing influence on the economy, and could be avoided only if a high level of private investment, together with taxation, soaked up all savings. However, in view of the tremendous "gap" which must be bridged between the probable level of savings (about \$1.5 billion annually) and the ordinary level of private investment (less than \$500 million annually) this ideal situation is not likely to be achieved. Continued public borrowing or "deficit financing" then would have to be resorted to in order to "fill in the gap" and maintain general purchasing power.

This raises the prospect of a continually rising national debt, which has grown steadily from about \$2.5 billion in 1930 to \$4.47 billion in 1939 and \$11.39 billion by the end of 1943. And in particular it raises the question of growing public indebtedness to private financial institutions, as evidenced, for instance, by the trend in bank holding of Dominion and provincial securities from \$316 million in 1930 to \$1.234 billion in 1939 and \$2.627 billion in 1943, with prospects of continued increase. To quote Kenneth Wilson in the *Financial Post* of September 9, 1944:

"Currently the wartime 'gap' between federal expenditure and revenue is running at something better than three billion a year. This is to be expected in 'total' war. But what the new federal appropriations appear to do is raise doubts as to whether we can ever overtake ourselves."

One can argue, of course, as do leading economists like Alvin Hansen and popularizers like Stuart Chase, that there is really no danger to such "deficit financing" if only it is properly managed. They stress the fact that the higher national income made possible by heavy public borrowing and spending would make the larger debt easier to carry; that, as the national debt would be owed to Canadian people and institutions, it would not be analogous to *private* debt; that government loans from and payments of interest to banks and other financial institutions as well as to individuals do *not reduce* the national income, but merely *re-distribute* it; and that governments' policies of taxation, borrowing and spending can be so planned as to further *redistribute* the national income in a way that would be beneficial.

All such arguments, sound as they may be, do not serve to allay the socio-psychological factor of uncertainty and fear of a rising national debt. Such fears are *real*, even if misguided. On the one hand the proverbial man-on-the-street tends to view the national debt, particularly where a large part of it is held by private banks and insurance companies, as a situation of the many owing the few, a "mortgaging of the masses to the classes" (though the wartime bond sale drives have sought to avoid this). On the

other hand there is that highly personal, intangible but all-important factor known as "business confidence," and under "private enterprise" it has the final say as to the levels of investment, output and employment that will prevail. The history of the New Deal in the United States has shown how extremely sensitive and easily disturbed this psychological factor can be, particularly by a large and continually growing national debt. So in Canada, too, the large federal expenditures designed to broaden consumers' markets and encourage "private enterprise" may well defeat their purpose if, because of public indebtedness and other factors, Canada's big business men don't happen to feel confident. A *Financial Post* editorial on October 7, 1944, for instance, expresses considerable trepidation about any full employment policy based upon government spending. It states: "In that direction lies defeat for the principles for which this war is being fought, assurance that this country will get only totalitarianism."

The government's whole program for post-war reconstruction would appear to be based upon rather insecure foundations—i.e., the highly uncertain reactions of individual business executives to a complex economic situation. And where such business executives enjoy the relative security of monopoly domination over an industry, as many of the leading concerns in Canada do, they are inclined to "sit tight." The government's program, in other words, may well face conscious or unconscious opposition from the "private enterprise" that it is attempting to encourage.

Full employment, or at the very least the avoidance of mass unemployment, is an objective of such crucial importance for the post-war era that no such chances can be afforded. The government in the future must be prepared to undertake overall economic planning, to step in and provide employment by investing in useful developmental projects and operating industries in any sector where "private enterprise" falls down. This vital step the present government seems anxious to avoid at all costs.

There Is No Jedium

High on a Gaspé hill, rain is falling.
These are gray days, damp and cold,
Without a season, without a year.

I have seen worlds of darkness
In caverns and caves, clouds and shadows,
Adrift in brown-green mountains,
Summer winds and summer storms,
Gales aloft, and summer haze.

I have watched the magnificence of sea-gray ships
Slipping into harbor at night,
And passed under the silent bows
In the dead of mist, seen them at anchor
Drenched in fog and looming up
Like corpses wrapped in shrouds.

I have been lost in the countryside in spring,
Have smelled new greenery
And the sweetness of fresh-cut wood.
I have marvelled at the freshness of the fern fronds' green
And trod softly on carpets of marshland grass.

High on a Gaspé hill, rain is falling.
These are gray days, damp and cold,
Without a season, without a year.
There is no tedium in the slowness of waiting,
And no lightning quick as the flicker of French laughter
In a spent day.

Court Stone.

The Card Game

Frances Hall

► THE OLD WOMAN sat propped up in bed, shuffling her cards irritably on the light board across her knees. This was the third game in succession which she had played of this special kind of solitaire, and each time she had won. Such a thing had never happened before. Always this type had been the hardest of all; and yet, now that the stakes were the accuracy of the doctor's verdict, she was winning continuously.

None the less, she told herself as she shrugged the quilted dressing gown closer about her shoulders, she was positive that the doctor was wrong. Such a civil young man, and apparently so understanding of her case, up to this point. But the idea of telling her now that she was definitely better!

She began laying out the pattern of a fourth and final game, snubbing the corner of each card carefully with her thumb to make certain that she was laying down only one at a time—three face down; four face up; three face down; four face up—and looked at the two kings in the top row already, though she had shuffled twice as often as she usually did. Three face down; four face up; three face down; four face up—suggesting that it would be good for her to be up and about, doing her own light house-keeping! Deal seven cards up in a row now, and there's the king of hearts with the queen right on top of it. Seven face up; another seven up, with the extra cards to be laid aside and used as they fitted into the game.

The old woman folded her loose-ringed hands and looked at the lay-out on the board before her. A dozen possible combinations leaped to her gaze. It was likely that she would win again. Even the cards were betraying her. It was her death they all were plotting.

By now Eloise would have phoned the doctor, wanting to know his verdict the moment he got back to his office; and he would have told her everything.

"And how is my husband's mother this morning?" her voice would have said over the wire, keeping always the in-law relationship sharply defined.

Then the doctor would tell her. Fine. Just fine. A bit toxic from coddling herself. But otherwise just fine.

The spade suit was complete, and the diamonds down to the six. Two more moves would finish the hearts. Fine. Just fine.

Eloise was going to love telling Joey. She'd probably be phoning him at the office this very minute, to let him know the emancipating news:

"Darling, the doctor has just given me the most wonderful report about your mother. She's simply fine—heart somewhat enlarged, of course, but in very satisfactory condition for her age. She'll live years yet if she takes proper care of herself.

"And darling, he thinks it better that she keep her separate apartment instead of moving in with us—says that she should have the responsibility of keeping up her own place to prevent her brooding. Thinks she needs the exercise of light household tasks and the mental engrossment of living independently. It's really for her own good that things should continue as they are.

"Gorgeous news, isn't it, darling—that she's so well, I mean. I know how you've worried."

Damn Eloise! Joey had always been such a good son, such a devoted companion. Always he had taken his mother along on his vacations; never dreamed of going with any-

body else. Lake Louise, Taxco, Copenhagen, they had been to some lovely places together in the old days.

Joey had been good about taking her to the theatre, too. A perfect dinner somewhere in secluded elegance, aisle seats for the smartest show in town, and supper afterward. She had trained Joey's taste with skill and precision, only that Eloise might reap the benefit.

Eloise had been there in the background for years, of course. As early as the winter of '31, Joey had taken to staying out one evening a week, usually on the night of a symphony; and it was clear somebody was leading him toward a very superficial knowledge of stuffy nineteenth century music. Once, too, there had been on his bedside table for weeks a copy of *Tristram Shandy* with "Eloise Lane" written in a very undistinguished hand on the flyleaf. Imagine reading Sterne these days! Imagine her Joey marrying a girl who wore tweeds and liked Beethoven. It certainly proved there was nothing to the theory of environment.

Or maybe it proved how perniciously contagious was this new fad for first marriages at just any old age. People who had managed to reach forty without marrying certainly ought not to cheapen themselves by rushing into matrimony — as if change of life, or something, had been too much for them. Especially Joey and Eloise, who had known each other these fifteen years. It somehow looked like nothing more than the regularization of an old arrangement.

Well, she had had her say at the time. No doubt Eloise still held it against her. And no doubt Eloise had persuaded Joey to see things her way. He hadn't been nearly so concerned about his mother's illness as he should have been.

But then, Joey's mother wasn't ill. Joey's mother was fine. The doctor said so. The cards said so. Four times in a row she had won the hardest kind of solitaire, which meant the doctor was telling the truth. She was to live here alone and do her own dishes and mend her own clothes and make her own bed — without lying too much in it.

The old woman began to sob to herself, and the game-board slid sideways from her knees so that the cards cascaded across the floor. What an untidy, uncared-for mess she must look, she thought to herself as her sobs increased in tempo. But the doctor said she was well, said she must get up and look after herself. Angrily she threw back the covers, pulled her dressing gown fiercely from her shoulders, and swung her feet abruptly to the floor.

Brusquely she tried to stand erect, inviting the waves of blackness that for years had come with too-violent action. But the wide hem of her long nightgown was tucked securely under her feet; and as she surged so suddenly upward, the deep lace yoke tore entirely across; and she had bitten her tongue, too, so sharply had the taut material jerked against the back of her neck. Now there was blood on her hand where she had pressed it to her lips.

Sobbing with a ferocity that made deep, shifting crenelations in her abdomen, she shrugged the useless garment from her shoulders and stood amid the disarray. Well enough to get up and do her own light housekeeping! Swiftly she bent to pick up a card of the fallen pack; then another, and another. Move fast to make the waves of darkness sweep away her vision. Up, down. Up, down. Quickly, up. Quickly, down. See how wrong the doctor is, how the floor heaves, the world goes black.

Tear the bed apart now. Be thorough with the light housekeeping. Pull off the sheets in quick strong movements that make it hard to fight for breath. Push the hair out of the eyes long enough to see which end of the slip one yanks the pillow out of. Throw the pillows across the room. Claw

at the mattress to turn it over. Do what the doctor says. Action takes the toxins out of the system.

Fight the mattress. Get one shoulder under the awkward, plunging thing; push and pull and tug. Butt it with the head. Let the heart pound, the mouth go dry, the lungs ache. Kick at the tattered gown under foot. Kick hard—the legs mustn't be allowed to tremble and the knees go weak.

But the pain is in the heart, something round the throat. The eyes are blind, and the hands against the mattress no longer hold. The feet slide along the floor. The bedding is a stifling mass against the face. The mattress settles down flat against shoulders, against buttocks, against calves and heels. Solidly, permanently, it settles down like a huge, gray quilted coffin lid.

Canadian Journey

1

He came from Timmins, Rouyn or Noranda,
Born in a shack with half a dozen others
Close by the pithead; in the slag
He made his nursery; at three
Was set to hunting coal; before his teens
His father coughed himself away to death.
The silicosis scratched his lungs apart
And left them ribbons for the autopsy.

Right from the start he knew the words
That spelled out danger, terror, agony,
As fire-damp, rock-falls, cave-ins and the flood
Of dammed-up water cramming galleries,
The runaway ore truck streaking down the tracks,
The rotten shorings, the dust, the deep deep dark.

Under an umbrella in Bermuda
The operator, distant as God,
Checked the mining columns, scanned reports,
Saw profits falter, wired the usual threats
And yawned and turned his buttocks to the sun.
Up in the snow-slugged north they cut the pay
To the lowest margin men would stand,
Drove tunnels faster through the shaking earth,
Followed the winding seams at crazy levels,
Drilled less and blasted more, worked killing shifts,
Fought compensation claims through every court
Doubled the guards and spent a hundred thousand
Choking the union talk.

Then education went a little faster,
The unions came, were broken, came again.
He learned by demonstration just how much
The law would help him or the judge befriend.
He saw the vigilantes crowd him out,
The well-trained scabs break through the picket-line,
Went hungry, watched the strike fade out
And took the wage cut. In thirty-nine
He hitch-hiked south with war and joined the army.

2

Wary as the released prisoner is
To the shattering force of light
He stepped past beams of thought
Strung like arc lamps across his mind;
Turned corners, caught a ray or two, heard talk
Sift through a million more like him
And felt the blocked-in hunger patterns lift
To a new design. At last
The blank horizons cracked wide open and he stepped
Through to an unknown country, found it his.

Now is the beginning. Now on the crest of history
 On the flood that brims beyond the final dykes
 He rides into a future that will not stop
 Before a different death and stronger weapons.
 Now on the shifting frontiers of the mind
 As on the map of Europe truth is set
 From which mankind leaps forward and ignores
 The hypocrite confusions of their love
 Here as before, the watchful, the oppressor,
 The enemy.

Salerno is the same as Stalingrad
 And one the army camp, the steel mill, the office room,
 The mining town and tenement, all one
 With the giant rising of the world
 Through which he strides greater than continents
 Above our houses, our lives, our little lands
 To Canada.

Patrick D. Waddington.

Letter Jo Margaret

I can see your grief as tightwhite,
 As blond braided.
 Under the prairie sun I see your sorrow
 Scattering coins newly minted,
 And over the thin snow you come
 Bringing bandages clean and confining
 To the limbs of your identity.

In me it is all cloud curved
 And night scooped, hands without body
 Stroking horizons, the headless riders
 Ambushing caution and charging the ocean
 Against all science;
 In me a crowd of small gestures,
 As if lips were animals and could creep
 Along the edge of sky.

Nothing is ever the same and neither are we;
 Different it is and different always will be.
 You fear the pits and I am blocked by the mountains;
 You walk in northern weather and I towards summer,
 And still I say no shifting continent
 Or sudden equinox can change
 The different weather of our mutual element.

Miriam Waddington.

We That Die in War

The phallic worship of Ourselves in the loins of the earth
 Engages us: in war's cathedral, to this
 Tolling bell, we dying chant exegesis:
 Our dead faces open to feasting, love, and mirth,
 Our bodies are no more darkness, fear, and dearth,
 Our mutilated flesh opens to earth's kiss,
 Our strange longing is contented by this genesis:
 We dying deposit seed in the ground for the birth
 Of a new world: we who are many people dying
 Breed, through this macabre intercourse, stronger
 Boned and shapelier men, and daughters that lying
 In, all centuries to come, shall bear a longer
 Breathing, brighter race: with less crying
 Of man against man: with abortion of the warmonger.

—Carol Ely Harper.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

U.S. WAR AIMS: Walter Lippmann; McClelland & Stewart
 (Little, Brown & Co.); pp. 235; \$2.00.

Mr. Lippmann's book can be divided into two parts: what is and has been, and what is to be. Mr. Lippmann is decidedly on safer ground when analyzing the present and the past than when discussing the future. This remains true if one accepts his main principle that international organizations of the future must be built upon what we have at the present time.

He gives an interesting analysis of what he considers the fundamental principle of American foreign policy, which is really an extension of the Monroe Doctrine to cover the whole of the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. So in China, the United States has always opposed the conquest of that country, economically or politically, by other powers, and is now waging war against Japan because it attempted such conquest. In Europe it has twice fought Germany in order to prevent any interference with the freedom of Great Britain, France and other countries on the coasts of the Atlantic.

Mr. Lippmann then proceeds to build his plans for post-war settlement in terms of this policy, and with the objective, as he puts it, "to maintain our vital interests." He maintains that no one of the four powers can make a successful settlement, nor can the four together make one that is lasting. He wishes to see established an Atlantic community with the United States and Great Britain as the leading powers, which would include Canada, the Low Countries, France, and a number of others. Within that community war would be outlawed, and the whole would become one military system with a common military policy; and, rather interestingly, he wants to extend the Halifax proposals to include France and the United States. Within this Atlantic community the good neighbor policy is to prevail between small nations and great.

Meanwhile, on the other side of Europe comes the Russian orbit which extends from the eastern frontier of Germany to Siberia. These two communities he sees clearly, but he makes also vague allowances for a Chinese orbit and another in the Near East. It is a little difficult to understand how he can suggest that all nations within these communities will preserve their sovereignty, as it seems quite obvious that the dominant power on the Atlantic will be the United States, and the dominant power in the other system will be Russia.

When he comes to deal with the peace settlement, Japan is to be reduced to an island community which will come within the Chinese orbit. Germany, on the other hand, is to be disarmed, and although he realizes that "we cannot police Germany forever," yet his only suggestion is that Germany shall remain, even after the 15 years which he regards as a necessary transition from war to peace, an unarmed community within the Atlantic orbit. He is strongly opposed to any proposal for a United States of Europe, because in such a federation Germany would inevitably be dominant.

Mr. Lippmann strongly emphasizes, and indeed it is obvious, that whether we find peace or war in the near future will depend almost entirely on the relations between Russia and the United States. His main hope for peace is based on the fact that these two powers are far removed from one another, and have no clash of vital interests.

The main fault of this book is that it entirely ignores economic factors, and the economic revolution which is in

fact taking place today. The hostility between Russia and the rest of the world, particularly the United States, is not due fundamentally to the lack of personal freedom in Russia, but to its destruction of monopoly capitalism. It is therefore unreasonable to ask the Russians to make their 1936 Constitution a reality, unless the United States is at the same time prepared to establish economic democracy within its borders. But Mr. Lippmann gives no hint of this; nor, when he includes the British Commonwealth of Nations within the Atlantic community, does he give any indication as to what happens to the rest of the Empire. He is right enough in criticizing Wilsonian proposals of peace because they are based on a principle of equal sovereignty for all nations great and small, which is impossible, but he dismisses far too easily all proposals for a world order and world organization.

Indeed, what he criticizes is but a caricature of current proposals. While there is a good deal to be said for the point of view that international organization must be built on such international organisms as have been evolved in fact, his whole scheme of communities is only the old balance of power on a bigger scale than ever.

However, Mr. Lippmann's proposals should not be easily dismissed, and certainly deserve study, especially as they derive from his own analysis of the American point of view and must therefore be taken into account. The book also contains a useful appendix with the text of the declarations of Moscow, Washington and Teheran.

G. M. A. Grube.

A FAITH TO FREE THE PEOPLE: Cedric Belfrage; The Dryden Press; pp. 371; \$2.75 (U.S.A.).

This brings the story begun in *Let My People Go* (Gollancz, U.S. edition: *South of God*) up to date by the addition of 75 pages on The Peoples' School of Applied Religion. Those who read the earlier edition will need no urging to complete that fascinating and moving story of a living religious hero.

The very special interest of the story lies in three factors especially: first, Claude Williams, the hero, is a live hero and a real one, even to his friends; second, he is a profoundly religious one, both in origin and in his continuing work, and third, this hero's religion—both old and new—is completely integrated into the actual struggle—economic, political, cultural et al—of his society. Cedric Belfrage, the author, dogged Claude's footsteps getting the account, supplemented it by that of others, and then described it so brilliantly that the writing is entirely forgotten in the moving character of the events described. What a film it would make, and what a howl it would cause in certain important quarters!

The outlines of the history are: Claude was born a fundamentalist, believing in "kivver-to-kivver" Cumberland Presbyterianism, and with almost equal strength, that goddam niggers are not men. Youthful conversions didn't stick but after serving in the first world war and Mexico—with a profit from his skill at poker—he returned home and fought it through with the neighbors, God and himself, resolving to "go into this thing for the truth that was in it. He would never depart from that truth whatever it might cost him." Married in theological college in defiance of the authorities, he "out texted" them in their trial of him. In the field he was a great success; "ain't he the preachinest man!" was typical comment. But he hated condemning people for what didn't appear to be their fault; was oppressed at the growing knowledge that the elders, pleased as they were with the "smart stroke of business for god" that they had done for

their church finances in bringing Claude as minister, yet took advantage of their money power to make the poor work for starvation wages, etc. This brought him at the same time, though gradually, on the one hand into liberal religious thought through the Religious Book Club's *Modern Use of the Bible* by Fosdick and to Vanderbilt Theological Seminary and Alva Taylor and on the other hand, into the struggle of miners against the worst kind of exploitation.

The product was a new mission. It was nonsectarian, addressed to people in the street and the poolroom; attacking the sins of organized society rather than individual frailties of the flesh, and it was united directly with the fight of miners and sharecroppers (black and white) for unionization. He lived and worked, was beaten and starved, preached and prayed with them in the fight, inside the church first, then outside of it.

In the last stage, described in the new edition, Claude established The Peoples' School of Applied Religion, to which he gets lay preachers and others from the plantations; interprets their religion and their social situation to them in a way they can understand and use, and sends them back with the message. Sample lessons, visual aid charts, with basic interpretations are given to them and some are given in this edition.

It's a grand, a burning, story, but don't read it unless you are prepared to have your religion and your social philosophy put on the spot.

Jarvis McCurdy.

RUSSIA AND THE PEACE: Sir Bernard Pares; Macmillan; pp. 293; \$2.75.

Sir Bernard Pares has devoted his life to the study of Russia; he has lived in Russia both before and after the revolution, and can discuss Russian problems with the authority of an expert. He does so in his book in a simple and straightforward manner. The result is the best type of popular book. It is addressed specifically to Americans, and should be widely read in Canada.

It is not a book in which you will find all the answers. Indeed, there are few specific suggestions as to how particular problems—Poland for instance—can be solved. Rather does the author aim to provide the necessary historical background against which the problems must be solved—and indeed it is the contention of Sir Bernard that only a full understanding of the historical factors involved will lead to any solution at all.

Starting from an analysis of the reasons for the fear of Soviet Russia which unfortunately is still widespread, and a short sketch of the Revolution and its aftermath, the author emphasizes the gradual change from revolutionary communism to the present regime. Sir Bernard calls himself 'a non-party English Liberal' and it is not surprising that he is at pains to convince the capitalist countries that the Soviet regime is not half so revolutionary as it is painted, or indeed as it used to be. This approach is particularly clear in the chapters on Religion in Russia and The Resurgence of Russian Patriotism. Stalin, he tells us in this connection, "has certainly carried through a complete transformation of the Communist Party itself."

More than half the book discusses the relations of Russia with neighboring countries: Poland, the Baltic States, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans, Turkey and India. There must be an independent Poland after the war, provided she is friendly to Russia, and, we are told, "Stalin has already shown that he will not prove unreasonable." Finland, too, should be free to go her own way, but the little Baltic States south of the gulf may well, it appears, become Soviet

Republics. In discussing Czechoslovakia, we are very rightly reminded that Russia offered help even after Munich; and that there is no reason to suspect Russian friendship. Sir Bernard does not hazard concrete suggestions on Balkan problems but he does draw attention to the weakness of the last peace, based on ethnography and taking no notice of economics.

One of the attractive features of this book is that the author makes no attempt to gloss over the disastrous mistakes of our western democracies toward Russia, and others, from Versailles to Munich, and even after; indeed, his chief aim is to remove our blinkers. And he is the most likely to succeed because he sees, and admits, some of Russia's mistakes also. He ends by a plea for free study of, and access to, one another, a plea that is addressed at least as much to the Russians as to ourselves—and for common understanding and common policies.

An excellent and useful book. It does not give many answers, but it gives the knowledge in the light of which the answers must be judged.

G. M. A. Grube.

MILTON'S ROYALISM: Malcolm MacKenzie Ross; Cornell University Press; pp. xiii+150; \$2.50 (U.S.A.).

Those who have penetrated the heavy fog of academic commentary and rediscovered *Paradise Lost* find it deeply interesting not only because of its great beauties, its descriptive grandeur, its variety of characterization and the intensity of Milton's convictions, but also because of its imperfections. The gap between intention and achievement seems greater here than in any other major work of English literary art. Shakespeare could leave innumerable untied strands hanging in a play and yet produce a unified aesthetic whole. Milton, in spite of his masterly sense of form and care for the details of structure, somehow failed to achieve consistency of tone. From Dryden down, critics have sought to explain the discords of his tremendous poem—in terms of the handling of a tragic theme in an unsuitable epic form, of the seventeenth century clash between Humanism and Puritanism, of his radically idealist yet embittered theology, of the inner conflicts of his personality, and lately in terms of his experience of apparently sterile social and political revolution. Mr. Ross adopts the sociological approach. He deals with an aspect of the old Miltonic problem not hitherto much considered—"the impact of social forces on the kind and quality of Milton's political symbolism"; specifically with the difficulties presented by his "use of royalist symbolism in the anti-royalist context" of his later poetry.

The argument is fascinating. For an Elizabethan like Shakespeare the imperial theme served to express the expansive community of interest that temporarily unified the middle and upper classes under the firm authority of the virgin queen. Because of the cultural lag that makes the young Milton seem more Elizabethan than Jacobean and because of the enthusiastic patriotism that inspired his early and middle years—until the failure of the Puritan revolution, the symbol kept its literary value for him even when the community of interest had begun to disintegrate into civil war. But after the crown had been sent rolling in the dust of Whitehall by those whose revolutionary activities he supported for twenty years, the theme no longer corresponded to his or the nation's aspirations. Yet royalist imagery has an important place in his epic, in the treatment not only of Satan but of God and the Son Christ, who ought to have been dealt with in terms that would express the ideal values he meant them to represent. Of this inconsistency and the belabouring of values that arose from it, he was dimly conscious;

and he avoided the use of such imagery to express his ideals in *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*—with a consequent loss of color and solidity since the imperial theme was the most vital in the tradition he had inherited. Because he was essentially aristocratic by training and temper and so failed to understand the real significance of the middle-class revolution in which he was involved, and because in 1660 the middle class seemed to him guilty of a miserable defection, he was unable to substitute for the imagery of royalism new and vital symbols drawn from the political and social life of his own time. The failure of his epic, typified in its confused imperial imagery, is the consequence of his having identified himself with a revolution whose aspirations he neither understood nor really shared. This problem is the constantly recurring problem of the poet who cannot march with his civilization; and it throws valuable light on the difficulty of the contemporary poet who is impelled to make new social values his theme but is hard put to it to find symbols whose significance his readers will comprehend.

Ross develops his detailed analysis with a lively suggestiveness that comes from his combination of literary sensitiveness and academic discipline with an intimate knowledge of sociological change in the twentieth as well as the seventeenth century. Unfortunately Milton has often seemed to invite stuffiness of treatment; there is no stuffiness here because Ross is vitally interested in problems which are as pressing for the literary artist today as they were for Milton. Anyone who is interested in such problems will find this book well worth reading, whether he is a student of Milton or not. The serious student of Milton will have some reservations to make—will regret, for instance, the unreservedly Shelleyean attack on Milton's bitterly liberal-minded God and the absence of any detailed account of the distinction between kingship and tyranny which Milton developed in his revolutionary prose and made fundamental in the contrast between his royal Son and his tyrannous Satan. But whatever his reservations he will find the academic job brilliantly illuminated at many points.

Arthur Barker.

NEW DIRECTIONS ANNUAL, 1944, No. 8: Edited by James Laughlin; Jonathan David (New Directions); pp. 407; \$3.50.

When I reviewed the seventh annual New Directions a year ago, I attacked the theory of "experiment" which underlies it: a theory which is partly an application of the two-party system of politics to literature, and partly a conception of expanding development in the use of literary techniques which is based on a fallacious analogy with science. I notice that Mr. Laughlin is still talking the same nonsense on such matters ("a technique which fails with the writer who developed it may become a potent tool in the hands of a succeeding writer able to realize it more effectively"), and that his collection has about the same proportion of tripe to interesting reading. He admits that much of it may not be very good, but insists that a place is needed for writers who have resisted all forms of commercialism in order to write as they please. No one can deny this; and anyway, New Directions, which has the most consistently interesting booklist in the country, and has done more than any other publishing house for the up-to-date intelligent reader, is entitled to a sympathetic consideration of anything it chooses to send out.

I am getting tired of making the same remark about contemporary collections of writing—that the critical essays are always much the best, and the fiction nearly always the worst, the poetry coming between. The best part of this book is the section of little-known writings by Lorca

and a remarkable collection of Latin-Americans. The poetry varies from good to bad and the greater part of the fiction is lousy. Kafka remains an important influence; there is a good deal of very heavy-handed fantasy, in which Marx and Freud and other worthies come to life or appear at a Last Judgement; and *Finnegans Wake* is beginning to affect "experimental" technique increasingly. This last is true of the one Canadian who appears in the book, A. M. Klein. Some of the poems he contributes are among his best, particularly "Love." (I may note parenthetically that his suggestion that *Finnegans Wake* is an illustration of Poe's "Poetic Principle" is one hundred per cent wrong.) As usual, there is always something in the ragbag which is worth the price of admission. The veteran experimenters, Paul Goodman, Meyer Liben, Kenneth Patchen, W. Carlos Williams, are back again; though one misses the continuation, promised in the last annual, of Georg Mann's vitriolic satires. But there are some good things by newcomers, notably a fine long poem by Kenneth Rexroth, a brilliant *tour de force* called *Definition and Destruction of the Personage*, by Eduardo Anguita, and some eloquent poetry by Pablo Neruda. One may read much in New Directions annuals that bores and irritates, but one never feels that anyone interested in contemporary writing can afford to pass them up.

It seems to me that the real "new direction" in modern literature is a gigantic revolution in literary techniques brought about by the movie, the radio, the magazine, the newspaper, and their subsidiaries, which latter include the comic strips, the journalist's book, the popular fiction designed to begin as a magazine serial and end as a movie, and so on. The revolution is greater than anything in literature since the invention of the printing press, and the parallel there is instructive. The printing press provided a medium for journalism and pamphleteering; it provided accurate editions of classics (compare the developments in gramophone recordings, microfilm and photostats today); and it increased the output of popular literature. The thing it did not do was instantly to stimulate a new growth of highbrow writing. Many of the highbrows, the lyric poets at least, continued to pass their work around in manuscript and to pretend not to care much for printing. It seems to me that the writers of today who are still working with the traditional means of expression and are not interested in Hollywood or soap-opera contracts, have a more important job than ever to do, of a completely highbrow kind. It is their task to stimulate as far as possible a public respect for good writing, to show that the real values of literature and the standards of beauty, wisdom and intelligence are now exactly what they were in Homer's time, and to demonstrate that there are laws of culture just as there are laws of nature, and that a society which wilfully ignores either set of laws is going to get into plenty of trouble.

The writer with something really important to say will probably be highly educated, even erudite, and well acquainted with the profounder aspects of whatever social phenomena come within his range. His next problem is to digest this erudition and insight into an artistic form, which means absorbing it completely into whatever genre, novel, lyric, short story, or drama, he chooses. This is where most of the contributors to this volume have stopped. They have both erudition and insight, but have not succeeded in digesting it; hence much of what they say is a critical essay in the nominal form of a lyric, short story, drama, or what not. The result of this is to suggest the breaking down of these genres, and it is this sense of breaking down that gives the collection its "experimental" character. That is, the outstanding weakness in their writ-

ing is interpreted as its primary virtue. That, at any rate, is how I feel about the New Directions Annual, Number Eight; and if my discussion of it is rather general, it is because the literary aim of the volume itself, as distinct from the individual contributions to it, is equally so.

N.F.

ERNEST DOWSON: Mark Longaker; University of Pennsylvania Press; pp. 282; \$4.00 (U.S.A.).

It is a pity that the paper shortage and a livelier style had not clipped this work down to about half its present size. The most willing reader searching through the volume for the new material in it—there are some hitherto unpublished letters of interest, e.g., a few from Oscar Wilde—is bogged down in a morass of repetitions and dull circumlocutions. In fact a good pedestrian page or two in the midst of it would sweep him off his feet.

The author intends, if he can do so without appearing to condone "unwholesomeness," to win sympathy for Dowson, but his evasive hints at times have the effect of an innuendo which all his apologies and excuses, all his attempts to minimize Dowson's lapses and alleged lapses by not really mentioning them, do little to offset. This self-defeating delicacy is the more irritating because we need a good critical work on Dowson, the Rhymers, and the *Savoy* group, and Mr. Longaker has searched out and handled with care some good new material.

It is regrettable that he did not use his redundant pages to reprint some of Dowson's essay contributions to *The Critic*, especially "The Cult of the Child."

Kathleen Coburn.

ROMANCE THRO' MORE THAN FORTY YEARS: W. J. King; privately printed; pp. 51.

GRAY ACRES: Lillian Collier Gray; The Crucible Press; pp. 32; \$1.00.

ALL QUIET IN CANADA AND WHY: H. Edelstein; privately printed; pp. 37; \$1.50.

There is charm in Mr. King's collection of poems, which he has published as a memorial to his wife. Its theme is altogether personal, the familiar experience of two people's

The Collected Poems of E. J. PRATT

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courtship, marriage and growing old together. The poems in themselves are by no means outstanding. They are unpretentious both in form and diction and their mood is reminiscent, not immediate. But read in sequence they have the value of a lovely emotional record. In these simple lyrics, joy and sorrow are felt incidentally. It is the author's gracious forbearance, the absence of detail that gives them poignancy and appeal. The dominating emotion of love has led to clarity of expression and a satisfying sense of unity.

Lillian Collier Gray has decided poetic ability which, however, is only occasionally revealed in her work. She can create an idyllic mood, as in such lines as

"Only white sheep, and plover, and the grass
And drift of fleecy clouds that slowly pass,"

or in her poem. "Creation" where

"... all the winds of all the hills
Were wild with singing ..."

For the most part she seems content to belong to the poetic demimonde of the newspaper versifier. A good many of her poems describe sensations that are vaguely imagined rather than felt and she has the facility of one who might include the writing of a poem as part of a day's outing. Although capable of clear thinking and deep feeling she tends to avoid the raw and hurtful and is satisfied with the easy attraction of exotic day-dreams, conventional mysticism and a chanting of trite sentiments in poems that are carefully measured and rhymed. Her work suggests that of a good poet whose faculties are half-asleep.

All Quiet in Canada and Why is made up of poetic commentary by Mr. Edelstein upon terse excerpts from the letters of a young Jewish soldier who has been overseas since 1939, and who has participated in the war on several fronts. The excerpts have historical interest and reveal a bright, observant mind. The accompanying poetry interprets the soldier's youthful daring, sense of adventure and high-minded enthusiasm with warmth and sensitivity, and in a manner that is also rather fond and admiring.

Alan Creighton.

LANDMARKS GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE: Eric Parker.
THE COUNTRYMAN'S COLLEGE: H. C. Dent.
MACHINES ON THE FARM: L. F. Easterbrook.
THE UNFIT MADE FIT: Dr. Harold Balme.
LEARNING TO BE BLIND: Sir Ian Fraser.
MUSIC: Harvey Grace. LONDON CALLING THE WORLD: Frank Singleton.

Longmans, Green & Co.; pp. 32; 35c each.

These cheerful, well-illustrated pamphlets have the general theme of Britain's contribution to modern progress and touch upon several aspects of social welfare. *Landmarks Given to the People* sketches the establishment and growth of a body known as the National Trust, whose function is the protection and preservation of the natural beauty of English countryside, as well as of buildings and monuments of historic interest. In *The Countryman's College* we are told of the establishment of village colleges in Cambridgeshire, where students "from fourteen to seventy" study a wide variety of subjects, especially with reference to modern conditions. The movement, initiated in 1925, has been aimed at making the country region conscious as a unit and to offset the disintegrating influence of the modern city upon the countryman. L. F. Easterbrook describes the mechanization of farm labor, with the changeover to the

use of the tractor in place of the horse, the pooling of machinery among small farmers. He says that Britain now leads the world in the use of machinery in intensive, high-quality farming.

The Unfit Made Fit gives an account of the methods used in British hospitals to restore the physically or mentally wounded, by vocational therapy, remedial exercises and training that enable the patient to return to socially useful living. Sir Ian Fraser tells of the humanitarian work of St. Dunstan's Hospital, founded in 1915 for the treatment of the blind. *Music* discusses British musical composers, the growth of orchestras, brass bands and choral singing and the stimulus given to music by the war. The Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts and National Service Entertainment are two wartime organizations sponsoring concert parties that tour factories, munition works, canteens and air-raid shelters. While much has been done by radio and gramophone "there is a realization that even the best of broadcasts fail to transmit all the color, instrumental detail and textual beauty of the actual performance." *London Calling the World* gives a brief but graphic account of the news service department of the BBC.

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